

THE
DESERTION
DISCUSSED:

Or, the LAST and PRESENT

OPPOSITION

Placed in their TRUE LIGHT.

WHEREIN

The CHARACTERS asperfed in a late tedious
and prolix LIBEL, entitled,

Faction detected by the Evidence of Facts,

Are fully Vindicated; the DESIGN of that
TREATISE rendered Manifest; and the
DESERTERS of their COUNTRY'S CAUSE
properly Exposed.

By a GENTLEMAN of LINCOLN'S-INN.

*Fallite fallentes, ex magna parte profanum
Sunt genus: in laqueos quos posuere cadant.*

OVID.

L O N D O N:

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DESSERTION

1953

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and the following is the text of the
Treaty between the United States
and the Government of the State of
California.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

D O M D M

T H E
D E S E R T I O N
D I S C U S S E D.

IT is unfortunately no great Secret to the World, that this Nation has been for many Years divided into Parties, some with great Heat espousing, and others with equal Warmth opposing, the Measures of Men in Power, each calling the other a Faction, and each assuming to themselves the glorious Title of Patriots, and Friends to their Country. During the whole Time of this Contest, it was certainly a Question of great Importance to every Man of Property or Industry in this Kingdom, which of the Parties was in the right: For in a free Country like this, where every Man's Consent is necessary to charge the Estate he possesses, whether it descends from his Parents or is the Fruit of his own Labours, with Impositions for the public Service, it follows that he is nearly concerned in the Disappointments of which-

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ever Party proves to be true Patriots, because his Interests are hurt and suffer thereby. Upon this Supposition, which every Man of common Sense must understand, and which the wisest Politician of them all can never perplex or confound, it is apparent that every Man who contributes in any degree to the public Stock, has a Right to inquire into the Measures and Circumstances of the Public, because they are in some measure his own. Among Slaves it may be Treason to inquire ; but it is just, equitable and legal, while we are free.

If, for Example, the Measures of that which is called the Late Ministry, and which the Public more than suspects might be called by another Name, were right ; if their pacific Plans and great Proneness to Negotiation were advantageous to our Trade ; if their keeping out of a foreign War upon any Terms was reasonable, then nothing can be more certain than that the People have lost by their being removed ; that is to say, they have been put to a great Expence which might have been avoided. If the Excise Scheme was, as the Friends of it averred, for the Benefit of the Nation, it was a Loss to the Nation that it did not succeed. If the Money employed in secret Service was well laid out, we had no Reason to complain ; and those who persuaded us we had, were in the wrong at least,

least, and the Authors of great Mischief to their Country. But if their pacific Measures were equally scandalous and pernicious, if the Excise Scheme was dangerous to Liberty and Property, if secret Service meant no more than making it a Secret to the Public, how the Money given for its Service was embezzled, then those who opposed these Things were Patriots; and those who promoted such Schemes Enemies to their Country.

All this is so very plain and self-evident, that no Man of common Sense and common Honesty can deny it : And there is another Thing as self-evident, which is this ; that if any who opposed these Schemes, and taught the People to believe them both dangerous and destructive, have from Motives of Self-Interest, and for the Sake of gratifying their Passions of any kind, gone over to the other Side, and laboured either to palliate these Offences, or to screen such as have been guilty of them, I say it is as self-evident that these Men are Deserters and Betrayers of the People, whatever they may pretend, or whatever they may think of themselves ; for Power is so intoxicating a thing, that it very often makes Men mistake the plainest Things, and believe themselves in the right, while they are saying things evidently false, and doing what is palpably evil ; at least 'tis Charity to believe so, when

we see People warmly espousing what they heretofore condemned, and charging other People with Faction, Disaffection, and Disloyalty, for pursuing that very Plan which they lately pursued themselves. It is simply impossible they should be in the right both ways; and they must have a very high Opinion of themselves indeed, if they think that a Cause becomes good when they espouse it, or bad when they desert it.

It is also no Secret to the World, that the Circumstances of this Nation are such, that at present we are not able to bear with an ill Administration; by which I mean, that we are not able to bear the Expence of it. Our Taxes are already so high, that it is simply impossible for the Wit of Man to increase them, without burthening the People beyond their Abilities. Of this we cannot have stronger Proof than was afforded us in the last Sessions of Parliament, by laying a Duty upon Spirits, which was plainly tolerating the Vices of the People, in order to raise Money by them; and appeared to be a Thing of such a Nature, that even such as had spoken and written for all other Taxes, and even for the Excise Scheme itself, were ashamed of and oppos'd it, while those who abetted this Tax were reduced to the single Plea of Necessity, and obliged to own, that nothing could justify this Imposition but the not knowing where
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elle to lay it. Since that Time I presume nobody imagines our Affairs are grown better, that our Trade is increased, that the Nation is richer, or that in short our Condition is so altered, as that we may yet bear any farther Load of Duties, which the pursuing expensive Schemes may render requisite. This, I say, is a notorious Truth, known not only to ourselves, but to all the World; and such a one as ought to render us extremely cautious, if we have any real Regard for our Safety, Credit or Happiness.

On the other hand, our Debts are arrived at such a monstrous Height, that they too will not bear encreasing; that is to say, if we ever intend to pay them. We may, and if there is a Necessity for raising, we must borrow still more; but then we risque our Credit, and our Creditors visibly risque their Money. The Case of the Sinking Fund is too well known; and if it were not, I have too little Room in this Treatise to insist much upon it. This however I will say, that a great Part of it was taken from the public Creditors by their own Consent, in order to secure the Payment of their Principal; and therefore if we go on mortgaging it to new Creditors, it cannot but fill them with very uneasy Apprehensions. In the first Place, they will think it hard we should take what they gave in
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trust for their own Security, and apply it to the Payment of the Interest of our new Creditors ; and next they will entertain Doubts and Jealousies as to the Safety of their own Money, when the only visible Means of paying them is daily going out of our Hands. It is very true, that while we keep paying Interest regularly, and while such as lend their Money have the public Faith pledged for the Payment of it, we may still have Credit ; but then this must have some Bounds. A Nation taxed to the utmost height, and loaded with a very large Debt, has much to struggle with, and may not always be able to preserve that Regularity, especially if it should be attacked by real and indisputable Necessities, which running into a large Expence, and suffering our Trade to decline, are most likely to bring upon us. As to the Security of public Faith, it is certainly the best that can be had thus far, that we have a moral Certainty the Public will never violate it ; but then there is another thing to be considered, which is this, that the public Faith be engaged no farther than it can be rendered evident the Public is-able to pay ; because if it should, how well soever we may mean as a Nation, our Creditors must be disappointed.

As an Enquiry into these Points was always of the utmost Importance, and always the

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the Right of free Men and Men of Property, so in our present Situation nothing can be more glaringly evident, than that they are indispensably necessary. It is indisputable that our Strength is in a manner wore out; that as a Nation, we have brought ourselves into the greatest Perplexities; that if we do not think in Time, we must absolutely become Beggars, and consequently be in a fair Way of being made Slaves; so that for Men to preach up to us under such Circumstances, an implicit Reliance upon those who govern us, a ready Concurrence in their Schemes, how expensive soever, and how far removed from common Understandings they may be, is to treat us with great Insolence and Contempt, and to use us much worse than the last Ministry did; for they admitted us to be in a bad Way, and told us we must submit to ill Usage because it was impossible for us to bear the Expence of War. Whether they were in the right, or whether their Successors are so, I shall not at present attempt to determine; but shall content myself with observing, that such Men are most certainly in the right as do not incline to take any Ministry's bare Word for the Rectitude, or for the Necessity of Measures; but expect such Arguments as may convince their Understandings. They may indeed, as Instruments of the Crown, make Wars and engage

gage in Treaties, but it is our Property that must maintain them; we must enable them to make good the one, and to carry on the other; it is therefore just and reasonable we should know on what Motives both are founded.

Politicians may say what they will, but this was always the Sentiment of the *English* Nation; and our Rights in this respect have been acknowledged, even by our most arbitrary Princes. King *Charles II.* appealed to the People as to the Grounds of both the *Dutch* Wars, and he answered the Remonstrances of the States by his royal Declarations. I do not intend to make myself a Party to these Disputes, neither will I pretend to vindicate or to censure these Pieces; all I pretend to say, is, that they remain to this Day authentic Proofs, that in the Judgment of that Prince and his Ministers, the *English* Nation was not obliged to tax itself, and lavish its Property, without being acquainted with the Motives to such Expences. I hence conclude, that it is not at all wonderful the People are so anxious at present to know what is to be done, by whom, for what, and with how great Expence; because we are in a Manner at our last Stake, we have it not in our Power to run large Risques, we cannot leap Hand over Head into an Ocean of Expence; because if we do, we must either
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ruin ourselves, or (which is much the same thing) ruin our Creditors. Such as would convince the World that that these are either false or foolish, weak or wicked, factious or disloyal, Notions, must begin with shewing that our Situation is different from what I have represented it; that we are still rich enough to bear farther Impositions; that we are not so much in Debt, but that we may get out of it; and that by this or that Method the thing is plainly practicable: If they cannot do this, ill Language is very unreasonable; to desire People to advance Money for the Use of their Friends, when they have it not to buy Bread; to urge them to run in Debt, when they know not how to pay what they already owe; nay, can scarce tell where to pick up as much as will discharge the Interest of their present Incumbrances, is very harsh and cruel; but to call us Knaves, Fools, and Scoundrels, or, which is the same thing, *Tories, Republicans, and Jacobites*, for not doing it, is beyond all bearing. Good Words may do something, but to bully a Nation out of their last Shilling, is a very new Notion, and I persuade myself will hardly succeed.

We have lately seen a very extensive Vindication of present Measures, and a very abusive Charge upon all who are not satisfied with them, in a Pamphlet entitled, *Fac-*

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tion detected by the Evidence of Facts.

I must confess, I should think it a very hard Task to be obliged so much as to read it with that Seriousness which would be requisite to answer it. I have looked it over two or three times, and to speak my Sentiments freely, I think it the veriest Jumble of Inconsistencies that ever my Eyes saw. It is prolix to a Degree insupportable ; it is built upon no sort of Principles ; it is written with an equal Disregard to the Sentiments of all Parties, and seems to be calculated to increase the Prejudices of the Public against those whom it appears to defend. I do not pretend to guess at the Author, I have no Business with him. I think, with respect to Writings of this Sort, the World ought to inquire into what is said, and not by whom. I am sincerely of Opinion, that it is no manner of Objection to a Pamphlet, or to a Volume, as this is, though printed Pamphlet-wise, that it is written in the Service of an Administration. I think every Administration has not only a Right, but that it is their Duty to employ the Pens of their Creatutes in Defence of their Measures : They are certainly, how great soever, the Servants of the King and People ; may be called to an Account by either, and therefore it imports them much to satisfy both.

The very best Administrations have been so sensible of this, that they have been equally careful to gain the Good-Will of their Countrymen at home, by a candid Explication of their Schemes, as to carry their Points with Foreigners by Negotiations abroad. This was the Practice of the Earl of *Clarendon* upon all Occasions; and this, as we learn from the *Life of the Lord North*, lately published, was the Advice given to King *Charles II.* by such Ministers as thought he had nothing to fear while he governed by Law. In King *William's* Time, the Court was more upon the Reserve, and for a very plain Reason: The Ministry affected to act upon Principles very opposite to those of the Revolution; and this engaged the honestest Men, and the ablest Pens, to combat those Measures, though they adored their Prince, of which we have evident Proofs in the Writings of Mr. *Trenchard*, and in the Speeches of Sir *Charles Sidley*: These Gentlemen were for the Thing, and not the Name; they hated Tyranny and arbitrary Government, whoever were its Instruments; and were as little pleased with the Effects of Lord *Sunderland's* Politics under King *William*, as under King *James*. They thought that the best Service that could be done his Majesty, was to bring the Expences of his Government within a narrow Compass; to engage

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such as served the Public to act upon Principles of Duty and public Spirit, and thereby preserve the Liberty, Property, and Trade of the Nation, in the most flourishing Condition. When they saw these Maxims rejected, when they saw a Propensity in the Servants of the Crown to rush into vast Expences, to promote large Taxes, and to concur in loading the Nation with Debt, they declared without scruple their Dislike to these Measures, and their Apprehensions of the Consequences; in which we have found them but too true Prophets, and all the plausible Apologies for these wrong Steps, so many delusive Coverings of a dark Scheme, which obscured the Glory of that Reign, and under the Shadow of which our Posterity are like to grope. It is not therefore at all marvellous, that the People of *Britain* are fond of knowing what the Ministry are about; because, wherever there have been great Mysteries, we have seldom found them revealed by Time, which reveals all Things, much to the Honour of their Contrivers, or much for the Benefit of the Nation.

In the Reign of Queen *Anne* we had a great Ministry and good Writers; *Godolphin*, *Somers*, and *Hallifax* were at the Head of Affairs; and *Addison*, *Manwaring*, and Sir *Richard Steele* vindicated their Measures. There were few capital Points carried

carried in that Reign which were not first freely canvassed by the People; and, I must confess, it was the Artifice of the succeeding Ministry that first turned all political Disputes on the great Hinge of *Whig* and *Tory*, as if it imported the People of *England* to have either *Whigs* or *Tories* in Power, farther than they were honest Men and meant well to their Country. *St. John*, *Swift*, and *Prior* rung the Changes upon these Words, and we have followed their Example ever since. In short, we have been Fools enough to fancy that the Denomination of Ministers was of greater Consequence than their Capacities, and that it was more the Concern of the People of what Party they were, than of what Probity. But it is surely high time now to open our Eyes, and to consider Things of greater Importance; our Safety, our very Being is now at stake, as all Parties agree; the Friends of Power say, that it depends upon (I will not say carrying on a War, but) maintaining Troops abroad; such as do not fall in with their Sentiments alledge, it rests upon the Care taken of our Government at home, upon the bringing our Expences under a frugal Management, upon eradicating the Canker of Corruption, upon restoring Trade, and putting our Debts and Taxes into some feasible Train of being lessened and discharged.

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To tell us that either of these Ends must be attained by having *Whigs* or *Tories* in Power, is treating us like Babies. The Ends of Faction may be pursued by the Friends of Faction, but the Ends of the Nation must be pursued by the Friends of the Nation. Such as mean a large Land Army, an expensive War, boundless Influence, and the Encouragement of all sorts of Corruption, may call themselves *Whigs* if they please, but we shall know what to think of them for all that. They may too run down those who are for pulling up by the Roots the late scandalous Practices for defeating the Freedom of Elections, and thereby depriving the People of their Representatives; for redressing all other public Grievances; stating the Revenue, Expences, and Debts of this Nation; enquiring into fruitless Expeditions and foolish Negotiations; and, in fine, securing the Affection of the People to the present Royal Family, by procuring them legal Satisfaction for what is past, and proper Security for what is to come: I say, they may call such as aim at these Things *Tories, Republicans, Jacobites, Incendiaries, Rebels, Traitors*; but all that signifies nothing; the People will know what to think of them too, in spite of such Characteristics.

But say some, and particularly the Author of the voluminous Pamphlet lately men-

mentioned, the *Tories* have been in a constant Opposition for thirty Years; therefore they are a Faction: But who are to be the Judges of that? Why, the *Whigs*. Is this just or equitable? Are the Characters of Men to be decided by their sworn Enemies? But the *Whigs* are the only true Friends to the House of *Hanover* — they say so indeed — and therefore this gives them a Right to be Judges. Be it so then, I will undertake to prove, that, from the Accession of the Family, the *Whigs* have thought the contrary. I will undertake to prove, that if the *Whigs* accuse the *Tories* of acting as a Faction ever since the Beginning of the late Reign, they do it without Reason; since all the wisest and best Men amongst them have in their turns acknowledged the *Tories* to be in the right, justified their Behaviour as a reasonable and legal Opposition against dangerous and destructive Measures. If the *Whigs* be the only proper Judges for the Royal Family, as they always presume themselves to be, then, I say, the Conduct of the *Tories* has been perfectly right, since in every Step, in every Instance, it has been approved, applauded, and concurred in by the unbiassed *Whigs*.

All the World knows how unanimously the *Tories* paid their Duty to the late King upon his Accession, and how far his Majesty was influenced to treat them with great Coldness.

Coldness. I will not say that this caused the Rebellion; but I will be bold to say, that if his Majesty had not taken that Advice, the Rebellion had never happened. His Majesty would have been the King of all his People; and those Distinctions would have been buried in Oblivion, which had been so dangerous to his Succession, and which, while they are kept up, can only serve to rob him of the Affections of such as are naturally inclined to be his best Subjects. I speak here of the King, in a political Sense, as of a Person that can never die; as of the Father of his People, who ought to have the same Tenderness for them all, and not by an ill-judged Distribution of Favours inspire Distaste, and then punish it as Disloyalty.

When the new Government proceeded wholly upon such Maxims, and it visibly appeared that a Handful of Men, who called themselves *Whigs*, had seized the Reins of the State, an Opposition was commenced; not against his late Majesty of ever glorious Memory, or against his Family, but against such Ministers as misled him. Neither did this Opposition continue long a *Tory* Opposition. The Duke of *Argyll*, and all his Friends, with a considerable Number of *English Whigs*, lost their Employments for their Attachment to moderate Measures, and concurred with the Opposition because
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it was right. Every body knows that the Impeachment of the Earl of *Oxford*, like the Impeachment of the Earl of *Strafford* in the Days of King *Charles* I. was an accumulative Impeachment, where ten black Rabbits were made equal to a black Horse, and a number of supposed Misdemeanors summed up into High Treason: I need not tell the World who manufactured that Impeachment, or who disclaimed it when it came to be tried. All the intelligent World know that the Authors were ashamed of it, and that except the Generalissimo of the *Whig* Mob, the virtuous Earl of *Con — sby* and some wrong-headed Lawyers, the *Whigs* were content to own, that the thing had been stretched too far, that it was an Instance of Party Rage, which ought to be forgot, and that however the Earl of *Oxford* might be out in his Politics, and mistaken in his Management of foreign Affairs (which according to the Confession of the *Whigs*, have not been better managed since) he was firmly attached to the present Royal Family, and therefore did not by any Means deserve to be treated as a Traytor.

In the Year 1717, after the Discovery of that which was called the *Swedish* Conspiracy, the late King was advised to demand a large Sum of Money, to enable him to make good such Engagements, as might free him from any Apprehensions of seeing this

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Kingdom invaded from *Sweden*. This the *Tories* looked upon to be unparliamentary and unprecedented, but they were not alone in this, the then Speaker of the House of Commons, since a noble Earl, and very lately deceased, Mr. *Walpole* the present Right Honourable Earl of *Orford*, and many other distinguish'd *Whigs*, expressed a very warm Dislike thereto. The Point, however, was carried but by four Voices, and the very next Morning the Lord *Townshend* was turned out of his Lieutenantcy of *Ireland*; upon which *Robert Walpole* Esq; first Lord of the Treasury, Mr. *Methuen*, Secretary of State, Mr. *Pultney*, Secretary of War, and the Earl of *Orford*, then at the Head of the Admiralty, laid down their Employments, and appeared very warmly in the Opposition. This Opposition was surely just and reasonable, when so many great *Whigs* declared it so to be, and not only joined heartily with the *Tories* in Speaking, but actually wrote in Defence of that Conjunction, cleared the *Tories* of all Imputations of *Jacobitism*, and behaved towards them with all the Cordiality in the World for several Years. It was during this Opposition that the famous Quadruple Alliance took Effect, which was thought a wrong Measure by the *Tories*, and by the great *Whigs* beforementioned, who exposed it with all the Bitterness imaginable, treated

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Sir George Bing's Victory at *Messina* as a very unwarrantable Action; and one of them, I mean one of the *Whigs*, who has always valued himself much on *speaking freely what he thought*, was pleased to say, as to the Consequences of that glorious Action, that they were no better than making Cock-Boats of the *English* Fleet to carry his Imperial Majesty's Troops to and fro, as the Humour of the Court of *Vienna* directed.

Before I part with this Quadruple Alliance, I must observe that it is the very Treaty upon which all the Negotiations of the Late Ministry, so loudly and so lately condemned, were founded, for by this Treaty the Queen of *Spain* became first entitled to those *Italian* Dominions, which have cost us and all *Europe* so much Trouble since, and on this very account that Treaty was then condemned, I mean when it was made by the two noble Lords, who now make such a Figure in the World, as well as by the *Tories*, who are alone only in this, that they never approved it or any Modifications of it since. The same Opposition, I mean the Opposition of the same *Whigs* with the *Tories* declared against the Pension Bill, and had Weight enough to throw it out. They likewise opposed the dangerous and destructive South-Sea Scheme, though unluckily with less Effect, and the *Tories* pur-

sued it to the last, and were the great Authors of that Vengeance, however imperfect, which fell upon the Contrivers of that villainous Project. Here indeed they were deserted by some of the *Whigs*, who, coming again into Power, grew cool in their Resentments, and as the World very well knows, brought the Term *Screening* into Use. Nobody I think, even at this Day, will deny that this Opposition was well conducted, acted from right Motives, and gave a severe Check to very bad Measures, I humbly conceive therefore, that the *Tories* could not be criminal for the Share they had therein.

In the Year 1721 his late Majesty sent a Message to the Commons to acquaint them with the Difficulties he lay under by reason of a Debt of 500,000 *l.* contracted in his Civil Government, and hoped he might be empowered to raise Money for discharging it on the Civil List Revenues, which should be reimbursed by a Deduction to be made out of the Salaries and Wages of all Officers, and the Pensions and other Payments from the Crown. If this was opposed by the *Tories*, it was also disliked by many of the *Whigs*, and from that Time there was a Coldness observed in that very honourable Person, who some Years afterwards quitted his Employment, appeared again in the Opposition, and valued himself

self so much for continuing in it for no less than twenty Years. Thus then I have shewn, that throughout the whole Series of their constant Opposition, the *Tories* have been thought in the right by the best and wisest of the *Whigs*, and therefore all Pretence of detecting them to be a Faction by a Recapitulation of Facts, is quite beside the Purpose, and proves nothing, because it proves too much. For if they were always in the wrong, then all must have been in the wrong who joined with them; and then I do not know any Man of Fortune, Figure, or Reputation in this Kingdom but must be included by such a temerarious Judgment. On the other hand, if they have been right in this Opposition, if they have opposed bad Measures, and have endavoured to prevent such Steps being taken as were visibly against the Interest of their Country, I cannot imagine why they should be charged with Disaffection, any more than the *Whigs* who concurred with them, and from whom, in the Course of the Opposition, as many, or more, indecent and personal Expressions escaped than from them, as I will undertake to prove from the Story of those Times.

Another Observation may be made upon this short History, which deserves extremely the Attention of the People of *Great Britain*, and it is this, That in the midst of so many Mismanagements, in respect

spect to foreign and domestic Affairs, such a number of idle and inconsistent Treaties, useless Armaments, extravagant Expences, Projects dangerous to the Constitution, and destructive of the Safety and Interests of these Kingdoms, these Men who are now stiled a Faction, never were in Power. If indeed the *Tories* had for six or seven Years violently opposed a certain System, and then for the sake of Employments, concurred in pursuing and carrying it into Execution; such a Charge against them might be well founded, but it is most notorious to all the World, and the warmest and most malicious of their Enemies must allow, they never did. In this respect, therefore, they are innocent, most innocent, as we have demonstrated by Facts. They were against the Quadruple Alliance which disobliged *Spain*; they were against the *Hanover* Alliance, that divided us from the Emperor; they were against the Peerage Bill, that would have changed this Government to an Aristocracy; they were against the South-Sea-Scheme, which impoverished the honestest Part of the Nation, and corrupted the greatest Part of it; in short, they were against every evil Act particularized in that voluminous Pamphlet I have mentioned: And from hence I think it should be concluded they are no Faction.

From this short and general Detail of
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what has happened for near thirty Years past, the Reader will easily see that true Patriots, Men who meant sincerely the Prosperity and Preservation of their Country, the delivering it from oppressive Taxes, and discharging it from the Burden of a mighty Debt, had always Room enough for Opposition, because the Measures that were carried on were such as had a Tendency to continue and encrease their Taxes, and to hinder that Debt from being paid off. It must be considered too, that these Men by being constantly out of Place and Employment, if they received any Byass, must receive such a one as was favourable to their Country; for it is not altogether unreasonable to believe, that Men in the Possession of Power, and Men who are sure to continue in the Possession of it, such as the *Modern Whigs* give themselves out to be, may have a Propensity to give way to Taxes, and to the Continuance of a Debt, so much the less burdensome to them, as they share in the Emoluments arising from these Charges upon the People; and I believe I should run no Danger of being thought a Lyar, if I should go farther, and say that Experience has sometimes verified this. If therefore the *Tories*, from a natural Apprehension of feeling doubly the Weight of Taxes and Incumbrances, have struggled to the utmost against them, where is the Crime
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of this? Their Prejudice in this respect was a Prejudice that might have been of use to their Countrymen, for if by their Struggles they could have avoided the prodigious Expences attending useless and contradictory Negotiations, frequent Augmentations of Troops never employ'd, hiring Mercenaries that never came into the Field, and fitting out stay-at-home Fleets; I say, if they could have avoided any of these Expences, if it would have saved any Money in their Pockets, it would have saved fifty times as much to the landed Interest, and therefore their Eagerness in this respect could never be a Crime, because it was visibly no Injury to the Public.

I might farther observe, that these Men who have been lately detected as a Faction, were not only against all Measures which have since been generally acknowledged bad, but have concurred likewise in promoting most, if not all, the Propositions that have been generally esteemed good. I never heard it alledged that the *Tories* were against settling the sinking Fund, nor did they ever oppose any Attempt made for putting the public Debts in a Train of Payment; they have been for all Enquiries that were set on foot for the public Benefit; and if they were not as effectually pursued as they might have been, the World is thoroughly satisfied that it was none of their Faults. Such as
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have been impeached, and such as deserve to be impeached for projecting public Frauds, or for giving them Countenance, were no *Tories*, they had no Share in the *Harbrough* Lottery, the Ruin of the Suiters to the Court of Chancery, or the Charitable Corporation, but endeavoured to bring all who had to Justice, so that here is a new Proof that their Conduct in their public Characters, ought not to expose them to any such Censures, ought not to render them obnoxious either to the Crown, or the People.

After all I have said, I must take an Opportunity of declaring, that I do not desire to be considered as an Advocate for the *Tories*, and the reason is plain, because I take this to be a Nick-name imposed by wicked and designing Men, on purpose to render one Part of the Nation odious to the other. For let us consider what the Appellation of *Tory* means, to speak accurately I ought to say, did mean when such sort of People existed. The *Tories* in King *Charles II's* Time were Men who declared themselves attached by Principle to the Prerogative, Men of high-flying Loyalty, who upon almost all Occasions sided with the Crown, and were against all Attempts made in Favour of Liberty, in that and in the succeeding Reign, till Destruction stared them in the Face, and then, as History shews, as

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some of us remember, as the voluminous Pamphlet itself admits, they made a short Turn, and declared in favour of the Revolution. I do admit, that in the Reign of King *William* those who were called *Tories* in the former Reigns were frequently in the Opposition, and though they then ceased to be *Tories*, that is to say, did not act upon their former Principles, yet we need not wonder they still went by the same Name, because they were the same Men. But what is this to the Purpose now? Are the People at present stiled *Tories* of the same Complexion? No certainly, nothing like it, and therefore a noble Duke, who will be always thought the honestest Man of this Age, said not only wittily, but wisely, that all he had learned from many Years Conversation with Politics was, that the *Tories* were become *Whigs*, and the *Whigs* *Tories*.

In fact it is so; for I appeal to the common Sense and Experience of Mankind, whether those who now pique themselves so much upon the Title of *Whigs*, and would arrogate to themselves a perpetual and indefeasible Right to the Administration barely from being called so, do not in all Respects come up to the Character of the old *Tories*. Are they not always offering Incense to the Crown; do they not perpetually gild their own Interest with the specious Title of that of the Royal Family;

mily; is it not they who have devised the Means, and paved the Way to that mighty Extension of the Power of the Crown, not indeed in the old Way of Prerogative, which placed it solely in the King, but in the new of the Ministerial, which they now make no Secret of owning they intend shall be always in themselves? Are these dark and dubious Facts, or are they not clear and shining as the Noon-Day? With what View then do these People call themselves *Whigs* and other Folks *Tories*? The Reason is evident enough; they design to conceal their own Intentions, and to misrepresent those against whom they declaim. They desire to be called *Whigs*, that they may be thought Friends to Liberty, as the old *Whigs* were; they would have them that oppose them stiled *Tories*, that they may not be thought Friends to Liberty, as they really are. This is the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth. I have detected the thing from Facts, and I defy the most artful Pen, and which is more, the most artful Tongue amongst our new Politicians to shew, that I have erred at all in this, or that I have not drawn both sides as they should be drawn.

To proceed to the Merits of the Cause, with respect to the past and present Opposition, I say, without Hesitation, that the latter is more justifiable than the former;

and I will undertake to make this out from the voluminous Pamphlet so often mentioned, wherein the utmost Pains is taken to hide, to misrepresent, and even falsify Truth; which yet is every now and then breaking through, staring the Writer in the Face, and putting him into visible Confusion. He admits that the last Opposition was in the main a right one; indeed he was obliged to admit so much, in order to defend his Patrons; for whatever the Town may think, I am pretty confident this Pamphlet fell from no Right Hon. Pen; he can write, and write in another Manner; this Pamphlet has the Air of a Lord, but it is a Lord of another Nation; but this by the way; I say he is obliged to admit, that the last Opposition was right in the main; that it was made upon *Whig* Principles, and conducted by *Whigs*, till they thought fit to desert it, and then fancied it must sink of course.

- This Opposition, then in the Hands of such able Leaders, must have had certain Points in view that were rational, legal, and for the common Benefit of the People of *Great-Britain*; let us enquire then what they were, and not to take up a great deal of Time to little Purpose, I will fix upon three: *First*, the reducing the Expence of the Government; which, if we consult the *fourteen* Volumes of the *Craftsman*, the political Pamphlets published by *Franklin*,
and

and the Speeches in the *Magazines*, they will sufficiently prove was grown to such a Height, that the Nation was not able to bear, at the same Time that there was such a shameful Waste as the Nation, in its most flourishing Circumstances, ought not to have borne. *Secondly*, they maintained that a new Turn ought to be given to our Management in foreign Affairs; that for many Years together we were Dupes to *France*, and Slaves to *Spain*; followed the Politics of the one contrary to our own Interest, and submitting to the Depredations committed by the other to the visible Ruin of our Trade and Reputation. They asserted *thirdly*, that such a Series of destructive Measures could not have been carried on, but by an undue Influence on the Representatives of the People. These were the Grounds upon which they proceeded; these drew to them the Concurrence of all who were uncorrupted by this kind of Influence, and the secret Wishes of many who were. In consequence of their Speeches, Writings, private and public Interest, the whole Nation in a manner declared for them; and if by degrees they grew a little warm in their Declarations, it was not at all owing to want of Duty to the King, to a Spirit of Sedition or Disaffection; but to the Neglect, the visible Neglect of their repeated Complaints and Remonstrances, to
which

which they were chiefly prompted by the late Leaders of the Opposition. This was the Storm so much complained of; this was the Ferment represented in such dreadful Colours; and yet never any Nation maintained its Freedom without such Storms and Ferments; and but for this very Storm, this very Ferment, reflected upon with so much Horror, the People of *Great-Britain*, in the Space of a few Years, must have been no longer free; and the Leaders of the Opposition; the very Men who condemn that Spirit by which they were saved, must have sheltered themselves from the Effects of that arbitrary Administration, which they now pity so much, in some foreign Land.

When this Storm was come to such a Height, that *Jonas* consented to be thrown over-board in order to still it, the People might naturally expect two Things; first, that a strict Enquiry should have been made into the Errors of that Administration; and next, that such Laws should have been enacted, as would have prevented the like for the future. I say nothing of Impeachments, Bills of Pains and Penalties, and such like sanguinary Proceedings, because I know them to be repugnant to the Temper and Genius of the *British* Nation, and am sensible that they have very seldom or never done us good. I will add another Concession,

sion, that the late Administration, and particularly the Man at the Head of it, was not cruel, or vindictive; and that therefore it was reasonable that such Methods should in this Case have been spared: But I must at the same time say, that I am very much afraid, if ever the like Case should happen again, that the People of *Great-Britain*, good-natured as they are, will not be in the same Mind. If they find Lenity and Forbearance serve only to encourage Ministers to trample on and abuse them, they may come to take another Turn, and expect that one Man should rather suffer, than a whole Nation suffer for one Man, or for a few Men. When this Crisis, however, happened, the two Things I have mentioned would certainly have sufficed, and they would willingly have forgot what was past, for the sake of being perfectly secure in Times to come. I know that this is speaking very freely; and I know that the Author of the voluminous Pamphlet has given broad Hints, that such Freedoms shall not be long permitted; but I know at the same time, that this is a direct Proof that this Piece did not come from the Right Hon. Person to whom it is attributed; because I am confident his Soul cannot harbour any Notions of that Sort; I know he is not capable of doing any thing that should require the Suppression of this Freedom,

dom, especially after this voluminous Vindication has called for every Man's Sentiments, and bid the World speak out.

As to the first of the two Points that would have given general Satisfaction, something was attempted, because that very Right Hon. Person thought it fit and just; and that Attempt has fully shewn, that two Points of the foregoing Charge were true beyond all doubt; I mean the vast Expence of the Administration, and the undue Influence made use of to procure Money to defray those Expences. The first, I must say, was barbarous, considering the Circumstances of the Nation; and the last was an Attack upon the Constitution, so dangerous, that it deserves all that is said of it in the Report of the secret Committee, though what is there said is so strong, as to bring it up to High-Treason; and therefore I am surprized to see the Author of the Vindication attempt to palliate it, as I am heartily ashamed of the puerile, pitiful Calculations, exhibited to overthrow what is said in that Report of Secret-service Money; when every Man of common Sense must know, that every Shilling laid out for Service not done to the Nation, is a Misapplication of public Money; and when it is apparent from that Report, that the best Part of this Money was laid out to prevent the Nation's

tion's knowing how much greater Sums were squandered.

We should undoubtedly have seen the last Part of the Charge as fully and effectually made good, if the second (or rather third) Report had appeared, as well as the first; and therefore the Public cannot but consider it as a very great Injury that it was concealed, at the same time that she clearly apprehends the Reason of it. The whole Management of that Affair, the winding up and letting down the Enquiry, in order to obtain particular Ends, and gratify particular Persons, are too well understood; as well as the singling out one Man to feel the Resentments of that extraordinary Tribunal, though there was nothing alledged against him, but his Opposition to a certain Person in his Election, where Corruption was equally strong on both sides. These things, I say, are too well known to be silvered over by five Two-Shilling Pamphlets; and therefore the Author, when he is next disposed to write, had best give his Thoughts free Passage; let HIM swell the Apology of his Friends to the same Size with the Memoirs of his Family, and they may have a like Number of Readers, provided he part with them *gratis*.

If we enquire into the Remedies provided against future Abuses, we shall meet with nothing that can give any reasonable

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Man Satisfaction: Those Remedies that were adequate to the Mischiefs they were to cure, were not only postponed at the Beginning, and afterwards laid aside, but are by this flimsy Writer turned into Ridicule. The Pension Bill was, it seems, never pushed in earnest; its Patrons meant no more by it, than to shew their Spleen against the Ministry, and to throw out malicious Hints against particular Persons. Is not this a fine Account of Patriotism? Does it not excite a most amiable Idea of the Conduct of our late Patriots? Would it not tempt any People in the World to trust them again? As to a comprehensive Place-Bill, we are told that was a Thing altogether unfit and improper, because it would have altered the Ballance of the Constitution, by throwing more Weight into the popular Scale, which inclines too much already. I wonder at this Writer's Assurance, when he says this; I wonder what he means by the Power of the People, when all the World sees and knows they have been twenty Years crying out to have one Minister removed, and may cry twenty more before they get the meanest of his Implements punished: Yet the People have too much Power, forsooth; and a Law to lessen the Influence of the omnipotent Placemen, would be unseasonable and improper! Then for the Repeal of
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the Septennial Act; that too was never intended, though his Patrons profess'd the contrary, solemnly, at least once a Year. But then we are told with a grave Face, that many things have been done, which may prove of singular Service to the People; and many more may be done, if we keep our great Men in good Humour. But this ingenious Writer ought to have considered, that one Part of his Work overturns the other; and that after allowing his Friends spoke vehemently heretofore, for Things they never intended to bring about; he cannot, with any colour of Reason, expect that Credit should be given to their Professions now. He has shewn, that they make no Conscience of deceiving when it suits their Interest; and as there is but too much Reason to expect it may be their Interest to deceive us a second time, his own Arguments render it evident they ought not to be trusted.

If he would have served the Cause effectually, in which he is engaged; if he would have vindicated his Masters, beyond a Possibility of Reply, he should have argued from Facts, and not from Suppositions: He should have shewn us in what Instances the Expence of the Nation had been lessened; what Care had been taken to shut out obnoxious Persons, and how far the new Ministry had discountenanced the

Proceedings of the old; especially those Proceedings which they themselves had procured to be condemned, by the highest Authority. But he has done nothing like this; he has never touched upon those Facts, which seem to have quite a contrary Appearance. Does he not know, that 500 *l.* were given to a Man, who was imprisoned by the House of Commons for making a false Return; and does he not know, that after this was proved, and published to the World, the procuring that Reward escaped not only unpunished, but uncensured? Does he not know, that Mr. *K-----t*, who was so notoriously concerned in robbing his Country in 1720, has been permitted to return, though he solicited this in vain from the former Administration? Does he not know that *B-----*, who robbed the *P--- Off---ce*, as brutally and barefacedly as he did every other Action of his Life, was suffered to go abroad, and boast of his Impunity at *Paris*? Why did he not account for these Things? why did he not account for many more that might be mentioned, if the Mention of them might be made with Safety, or would produce any Effect satisfactory to the People of *Great-Britain*.

He cannot, surely, be so dull, as not to have a Sense of the Impressions these things make, at home and abroad. He must have
heard

heard what has been said of them in all Places; if he has been curious enough to read the foreign *Gazettes*, he might have learned of them; and sure they are as good Authority, as the Author of the *French Collections* he so often mentions, what the Sentiments were of disinterested People as to these odd Transactions. But he is silent upon such Heads as ought to have employed his Pen, and copious to a Degree of Redundancy, upon Topics that have nothing to do with his Subject. He fancies that he has Skill enough to cheat a whole Nation; and that his Eloquence, without the Assistance of Evidence, will persuade us, not only that Black is not Black, but that it is White. He may plume himself as much as he pleases, upon this new-fashioned Rhetoric; but he will find, and so will his Betters, that keeping one Promise is better than making ten; and that one virtuous Action will have more Weight with a free People, than a hundred fine Speeches; especially after what he has told us of Speeches, *viz.* that their Sense is the very reverse of their Sound; and that we are to construe them as Witches say their Prayers,—backwards.

As to the Abuse thrown out, in the late Vindication, on the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, for daring to instruct their Members, in Terms disagreeable to this
 Writer

Writer and his Patrons, there never, certainly, was any thing worse founded, or worse applied. As to the Right of instructing, he says, *it is a Practice which was introduced first in the great Rebellion, and has never since been exercised, but in Times which threatened the same Confusion.* Now, it happens that both these Facts are false; for various Instances occur of Instructing, before the Year 1641, if that be the Date he means; and then as to the latter, I shall only put him in mind of Sir *Stafford Fairborn's* demanding and receiving the City of *Rochester's* Instructions, on the Union; when, in the first place, the Nation was far from being in a Disposition for Rebellion; and in the next, this Practice was never censured by Parliament. But without entering into the Right of instructing, he must give me leave to put him in mind, that it was his Friends who suggested to the People they had such a Right, who encouraged them to use it frequently, and, in very strong Terms, against the late Administration; so that, let it be well or ill founded, they can have no Right to object against it, since upon their Authority it was, that the People believed they had such a Right. If Men will change their Opinions as their Interest changes, and by so doing dupe great Bodies of People, they must expect to hear of it,
and

and to hear of it in that Manner, which they suggested to be both rational and legal, because no other would serve the Purpose of the People so well. A surprizing Turn had happened in public Affairs; and it is very probable the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* were apprehensive, that if they did not pursue that Manner of acting, which these great Men had taught them to believe right, their Silence might have been construed to be, not only acquiescing under, but even approving such Measures, as, from the Bottom of their Hearts, they disliked. By encouraging them to instruct, formerly, they made it indispensably necessary for them to instruct now; for nothing can be clearer, than that if they had not done so, their failing in this Point would have been insisted upon in the Light I have before mentioned; and they would have then plumed themselves on the Assent of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, with just the same reason, that they complain now of their declaring against them.

When it appeared to be necessary to instruct their Members, what could these Gentlemen expect that the Inhabitants of *London* and *Westminster* should do, but what they did; I mean inform their Members of their true Sentiments. Would he have had them imitate his Patrons, think
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one way, and instruct another? That never was their Principle or Practice; they thought it their Duty to declare their Thoughts freely, and they most certainly best know their own Thoughts. The first thing he takes amiss in these *Instructions*, is the Abuse of Persons; but what is it he means by Abuse? They declared their Dissatisfaction, at seeing old Patriots becoming new Ministers, in conjunction with those whose Sentiments and Measures they had over and over condemned. Put the Case they had taken the thing otherwise, and had approved this marvellous Coalition; would he not have been very well pleased, that they had declared so much? Undoubtedly he would: But as the contrary was their fixed Opinion, they were certainly in the right to declare it; so that at last, their Abuse of Persons amounts to no more than this, that they thought fit to point out to their Representatives some Persons, who, as they apprehended, had abused them, and who certainly had abused them, if this Writer says true; for he shews plainly, that they made them believe they would do many Things, which they never intended to do; and this very Conduct of theirs produced these *Instructions*, as appears by his Reflections. The next thing that displeases him, is their insisting upon a Place-Bill, which, he says, they knew no wise Govern-

Government could grant. They knew, who knew? the Man does not know who he is speaking of; his Patrons might know it, for they were now become the wise Government that would not grant it; but how should the People of *London* and *Westminster* know it? His Patrons for twenty years together had told them, that no wise Government would refuse it; and they, poor Souls, taking them for honest Men, believed it upon their Word, and now insisted upon it in the Simplicity of their Hearts. If they had been such wise People, as to have known what their Leaders would have thought Wisdom in the Day of their Preferment, I dare say they would have acted in another manner; but as it is, I think it is the least they could have done to have borne with Fools of their own making. We may say the same thing with respect to the Triennial Bill with this Addition, that if what he says be true, *viz.* that there were not ten Men in the House who were seriously for that Bill, the Citizens of *London* and *Westminster* had great Reason to be alarmed, since they knew some scores who had declared the contrary in the most solemn Manner. Besides, it is notorious to all the World, that when the Law for Septennial Parliaments was made, it was declared to be a temporary thing; and the People always understood, that they were to be

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restored to Triennial Parliaments as soon as the Ferment the Kingdom was then in should be over. But if this is forgot to such a Degree, that not ten Men in the House are seriously of that Opinion, I do not see that this is any Argument that the Citizens of *London* and *Westminster* should change their Notions, but quite the contrary; and as in these *Instructions* they were telling their own Minds to their Members, they most certainly had a right to advise them to restoring Triennial Parliaments, if they judged them for their own Benefit and that of the Nation. With respect to his two last Objections, they are altogether as ill founded; for as to the demanding Justice against the Earl of *Orford*, they were excited thereto by the Report which was the Work of his Patrons, and tho' by this time it had done their Business, yet the Citizens of *London* and *Westminster* might very well presume it had not done the Business of the Nation. In reference to the last and great Charge of all, Advising to grant no Supplies till their Demands were complied with, I must own I see no great matter in it, considering how often the very Men this Writer defends, had told the World, that when once Supplies were granted, the People's Demands were never thought worth a Button. But if you will believe him, the wording of these *Instructions* made them the most scurrilous Libel

Libel against the Administration, the most seditious Instrument that ever was penned, and almost Treason against the King and Constitution——bad indeed——but then he says they were Madmen——that is, mad at being abused by his Patrons —— And therefore if there was Treason in the *Instructions*——the Madmen sure should not have been hanged —— but those who made them so.

But what if after all, these *Instructions* never came from the Citizens of *London* and *Westminster*? Why then to be sure the impudent Rogues who forged them deserve no Quarter, and yet the worthy Writer I am speaking of is pleased to say, the Fact was so. About three hundred of six thousand Liverymen of *London* sanctified the Paper called their *Instructions* with their Approbation. Sad Fellows were these three hundred, were they not? But what if they should prove the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council? would not this alter the Case a little, and should not one be apt to fancy, these *Instructions* really came with good Authority from the City. Can it be believed that the Citizens of *London* would have sat silent under so bold an Attack as this, of publishing a Libel bordering upon Treason in their Names? Certainly they would not; but as they were their Sentiments, they submitted to what their Superiors had judged

the shortest and most proper Method of conveying their Sentiments to their Representatives, who have also shewn a dutiful and decent Regard to these Instructions. However, as the Objection has been made, it might not be improper at the next Common Hall to sound the Temper of the Liverymen, and see how many of the six thousand will declare against a Place Bill, a Triennial Bill, or a Law for bringing public Criminals to Justice. This, if they have any Friends in the City, may be easily done. We shall then see the Truth of this Affair, and know with Certainty, what Multitudes, exclusive of *Jews* and *Stockjobbers*, were against these Instructions, or after reading this ingenious Gentleman's Commentary upon them, are even now willing to disclaim them.

But as to the City of *Westminster* the Case is ten times worse. Not above eighty out of sixteen thousand approved these *Instructions*. This is strange indeed, and that none of these fifteen thousand nine hundred and twenty should open their Lips; the Assurance of the one, and the Silence of the other are alike stupendous! But the Truth of the Matter I believe was this, The eighty were present at the tendering these *Instructions*, and surely they were enough for that Purpose. But granting they had been fewer, why did not those who suspected them

them

them of belying the People of *Westminster*, endeavour to clear up the Fact? Why did not their Members dispute it with those who were sent to them? Why did one of them particularly condescend so far as to endeavour to justify his manner of acting, if in reality he had supposed these *Instructions* not to contain the Sense of his Constituents? He might easily have been at the bottom of this; he knew where and how to meet with the People of *Westminster* without Difficulty; he might have summoned them into *Tuttlefields* to have heard their Sentiments, if he had pleased, but he chose to let the thing pass as it did, that he might give it a place in this Pamphlet. One really cannot help pitying Men so distressed and distracted; one Moment the Inhabitants of *London* and *Westminster* are charged with being half Traytors for giving such *Instructions*, then to take off the Weight of their *Instructions* they are said to be Madmen; and now of a sudden these *Instructions* do not come from the Liverymen or Electors, because forsooth they were not one and all at the Delivery of them. What Stuff is this? If the *Instructions* did not contain the Sentiments of the People, they would not be worth minding; and that they do contain them is notorious, from every kind of Election and public Transaction that has happened since. The Inhabitants of *London* and *Westminster* are not
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such Weather-Cocks; they judge from Facts, and are not to be talked out of their Senses.

After all, what is it this Writer would have, to what end did he make his great Book, why truly he would have us trust his Patrons again, though he owns they have deceived us; he would have us take it for granted, that we are in a safe Way, because we have his great Men for our Guides; he would have us take the new Place Bill for an extraordinary Favour done to the People, though they may be ruined before it takes Effect, as it is; and it may very possibly be repealed, as another Place Bill was, before it takes Effect at all. He asserts that his Patrons are still as great Patriots as ever, though they have visibly changed Principles, and argue now directly against what they heretofore maintained. Besides all this, he desires that we will take it for granted, that those who did not, who would not accept Places upon the late Change, are governed entirely by the Desire of Places, that though they have been manifestly in the Service of the Public, to the visible Prejudice of themselves and their Fortune, yet they all along acted with a View to their private Interest, that they are absolutely a Faction since his Friends left them, though they still contend for what his Friends once thought the great Cause of Patriotism, and that at the bottom they are the most desperate

perate Enemies to the Government, though they are always pleading for the Constitution, and desire nothing so much as the Destruction of their Country ; at the same time, that few would lose so much by its Destruction as themselves.

Our grand Accuser goes still further than all this, and charges almost one half of our Representatives with endeavouring, first, the Destruction of the *Whigs*, and the Elevation of the *Jacobite* Interest under the specious Name of *Tories*. 2dly, the Expulsion of the present Royal Family. 3dly, the Change of the Constitution of this Kingdom. All this I am told he will be called upon to make good at the Bar of the House: This is a direct Charge of High Treason, upon the Minority in the last Sessions, and the most flagrant Breach of Privilege that ever was committed. Yet all this is asserted without the smallest Evidence in the World: There is not the least Colour for saying that the present Opposition intend to destroy the *Whig* Interest, since the most considerable Men in the Opposition, are such as have always declared themselves to be *Whigs*, and have been constantly so esteemed. It is as groundless to surmise that the Opposition are in any degree wanting in Duty or Loyalty to the Royal Family, because some of them are in its Service; and if this were so notorious, we cannot suppose

suppose they would be continued in it. As to changing the Constitution of the Kingdom, that is certainly the farthest from their Thoughts, since the visible design of the present Opposition is, to support and restore it. The Patrons of Corruption, the Friends to undue Influence, the Managers of a Ministerial Power, more boundless and more dangerous than ever the Prerogatives of the Crown were in the most despotic Reigns, may be justly charged with changing the Constitution, and with cheating their deluded Countrymen with Forms and Shadows, instead of their substantial Rights and Privileges. Against these the Opposition was directed, and not against the King or the Constitution; and this the People of *Great Britain* know and are convinced of, in Spight of all the Art and Rhetoric of this sophistical Writer, and the Grandees whose Cause he expounds.

To divide, and govern in virtue of that Division, has been the Maxim of some Men for many years. A Maxim that serves to strengthen them, and what they affect to call their Interest, at the same time that it weakens and destroys the Public. Let any Man but look round him and see, what strange People have crouded themselves into public Offices, Men no more fit for their Places than they are for the Kingdom of Heaven. If you ask how they came there,
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the Answer is very ready, Sir, his Family has been always attached to the Interest. This is sufficient to make a Blockhead wise, a Coward brave, and a Robber honest. Be but firm to the Interest and you shall be provided for, though you have neither Religion, Parts, or Character. Hence also the miserable Mismanagements for many years last past, and that impudent Spirit of Luxury and Profusion, which came at length to such a height, that the Plunderers of the Public proclaimed it in their daily Expences, particularly the *Bell-weather* of the City Mob, who carried his own Burgundy with him in his Journies when he went to influence Elections, and who was afterwards detected committing Weekly Robberies in the *Office* where he was *posted*. One might mention an hundred other Instances if it were not needless, since half an hour's Reflection will furnish any intelligent Reader with double the Number; such are the blessed Fruits of keeping up a Party Spirit, reprobating one half of the Nation, by branding them with an injurious, senseless Name, and thereby depriving the King of one half of his Subjects.

I am very well apprized of a certain modish Doctrine secretly whispered about by way of Answer to this Objection. It is this, That if the King constantly favours his Friends, and bestows all Employments upon

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the *Whigs*, they must by degrees acquire, first all the Wealth, and then all the Lands in the Kingdom, which is the only way, according to these egregious Politicians, to bring the Nation into one way of thinking. If you ask me how I come to know this, I shall tell you that a certain Writer, whom some People remember, called the *Free Briton*, boasted of it; and that it is the concealed View of the beforementioned long-winded Pamphlet. You must observe in reading it, that he openly professes he aims at uniting the *Whigs*, and the reason he assigns for their Union is, to prevent our having a *Tory Ministry* and a *Tory Parliament*, whence it is very evident, that (and probably the Writer speaks the Sentiments of greater Men than himself) he aims at confining Power entirely to the *Whigs*, and shutting out all who do not acquire that Character, by embracing the Politics of his Patrons. At this rate here is a political Test established, and the Heretics in State-Affairs are favoured only with a Toleration. We need not wonder therefore, that with young Men, whose Principles are not fixed, this proves a prevailing Argument, and inclines them to go in *plum*; for that I think is the Phrase, with those who have it in their Power, not only to promise, but to bestow, all Sorts of Preferments, Pensions and Perquisites; a most effectual Method of procuring Converts surely!

Yet

Yet I must confess, I am very far from thinking that this Scheme, however plausible it may seem, will ever produce the Effects that are expected from it. On the contrary, I am thoroughly persuaded that it never will, because I am satisfied from Reason and Experience that such expensive Services are expected from all these *Tenants* by *Courtesy*, as absolutely eat out the Profits of their Posts and Employments, how numerous, how lucrative soever they may be. A Man who is dependent on a Party, must not only risque his Credit and Reputation, but his Life and Fortune for it. He must be ready upon all Occasions. He must come when he is called, and go where he is sent; he must support the Interest in every Shape, by his Industry, his Abilities, and by the last Penny he has in his Purse; hence it comes to pass, that among such Numbers that have not only lived, but died in Possession of several Employments, few, very few, have left Estates behind them answerable to their Incomes, and many, very many, have been plunged over head and ears in Debt. Such therefore as stick to the Country Interest, and content themselves either with their hereditary Fortunes, or with what may be still acquired by Trade and a frugal Management, are on much the safer side, as very plainly appears by the County and City Elections, which generally run in

favour of such Persons, and is a perfect Demonstration that the greater as well as the better Part of the Nation are not yet tainted, and that Influence, though it is very powerful, yet hitherto is not omnipotent. Such, therefore, as from the reason of things resolve to maintain their Integrity, and not to be hurried out of their Senses and Virtue by a mighty Noise, and some glaring Appearances, have Encouragement enough to persist in these generous Sentiments, and need never fear starving in so good a Cause; for without doubt so long as there are great Families, any Spark of Industry, and any Share of Trade preserved in this Nation, Men of independent Spirits will always maintain themselves more at ease in their Minds, and as much at ease in their Fortunes, as the Creatures of a Party, who cannot call Body, Goods, or Understanding their own, but must make Waste and Havock of them all, whenever the ill Management of their Patrons bring them into Danger.

These are not the Shadows and Subtleties of a Writer, who undertakes to varnish over what he does not believe, to colour what he abhors, and to recommend what he dreads the Consequences of recommending; but they are plain solid Facts, built upon the Principles of political Reasoning, and some Experience, which it is in every Man's
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Power to examine, and of which every Reader therefore may, if he pleases be convinced. I desire to be tried by the cool and candid Thoughts of honest and disinterested Men, who wish well to their Country in general, and would espouse with Zeal the Cause of that Administration which would shew such an Attention to the public Service as might encourage the present Generation to hope they might feel some Ease in their Taxes, and yet leave no greater Weight of Debt upon their Posterity, than by their Virtue, Industry, and upright Management, with the Assistance of Providence, they might have it probably in their Power to discharge.

This brings me, after battering down his Building, to erect an Edifice of my own, and to shew briefly and clearly (for Truth lies in a narrow Compass, and Fraud only requires Prolixity) what wise, honest, and conscientious Men ought to desire. In the first place, they must certainly wish an entire Extinction of Party Prejudices, I do not say of Party Notions, for I think every considerate Man in this Nation is convinced, that moderate *Whig* Principles are alone consistent with the Spirit and Genius of our Government. But then let every Man's Words and Actions, so far and so long as they are consistent, denominate his Party; let us call and let us esteem every Man a *Whig*, who speaks and acts like one,
who

who declares himself a Friend to the Constitution of his Country, and knows no political Rule but that; who is a dutiful Subject to his Prince, but considers his Ministers as mere Men and mere Subjects as well as himself; who disdains to be either bullied, bribed, or sweetened out of his Vote at Elections, but gives it as he ought to give it, with a just Sense that upon bestowing that Vote his Liberty and Property depends; and who, if he has the Honour to obtain a Seat in Parliament, regards it as so great a Trust, and so high a Preferment as to demand all his Attention, and which consequently renders any other Post or Employment incompatible therewith. Let such a Man I say be esteemed a *Whig*, though his Father might be esteemed a *Tory*, or even if his Grand-father was a Bishop, and let him be indulged in some old idle Customs, such as going regularly to Church, talking decently of Religion, and having frequently a Parson or two of good Character at his Table. With these Qualifications and these Indulgencies, I dare say our Party Distinctions will wear out in a few Years, and the only Disputes that would reign amongst us must be, who best attended, who most effectually performed the Service assigned him by his Country.

Secondly, I presume it might be hoped that Care should be taken to render every Election

Election absolutely free, and that no Borough in the Kingdom should be looked upon as the Estate of a private Person, or the Appendix of any public Office; because, while there are any such, those who sit for them, are nothing less than Representatives of the People, and therefore their appearing as such, is equally a Fraud upon the Crown and the Subject; the Source of boundless Corruption, and the most anticonstitutional Influence. The Author of *Faction detected* has pointed at some other indirect Practices with regard to Elections, which, if they can be fairly made out, I also wish from my Soul may be taken away; for while the least Byass remains in this Respect, while a Man has any thing to hope or fear from his Conduct in this Matter, I cannot think him free, but should esteem it a much less Injury to take from him what he calls his Right of Voting, than to leave him thus in the Condition of a Puppet, obliged to squeak out what another Man dictates, or be punished for speaking his Sentiments, if he dare speak, behind the Scenes. This is the great Privilege of *Britons*, and this the independent Electors of *Westminster* gloriously asserted. Men may be mistaken in their Choice, but that is not their Fault, at least not yet; a second Mistake would be their Fault indeed!

In the third Place, it would be requisite to obtain a just and certain View of the Circumstances of the Public; in which all Parties seemed to agree not along ago, when a Commission was proposed for taking and stating the public Accounts. But this like many other Projects, was warmly supported by those who never intended to bring it to bear. These *Sempronii* are a very numerous Family, and have done more Mischief in all States, than the *Catalines* or the *Cæsars*. This is a Thing that must be certainly done, whenever we set about a Reformation in earnest, that is, when we are resolved to act in regard to public Affairs, with the same honest Zeal we shew in the Management of our private Concerns; till we do this, we shall never know what we are doing, and the single Reason I have ever heard urged against it, is, in my poor Judgment, the strongest Reason that can be assigned for it, *viz.* that almost all public Offices are in such a Situation, that an Enquiry of this Nature would be at least extremely difficult, if not impossible: But will not Delay increase this Difficulty, will not this Impossibility some time or other prove our utter Destruction? Is it right to protract under such Circumstances? If the Voice of this Nation were attended to, ought not such an Enquiry to be begun already? Let it end how it would, its Consequences must be happy;

happy; for, if our Suspicions are false and vain, so they must appear, and the Public rest satisfied. But, if our Expences are too large, if the several Wheels of Government roll heavily through their own Weight, if the Attendants on the State are too numerous for the People to maintain, why should not all this be known, why should it not be remedied? Is there any thing in this of Disaffection, ought such an Enquiry to alarm the Crown, could it have any other Consequences than saving our Country?

A fourth thing that might be requisite, would be a more equal Distribution of our Taxes, and if possible, the raising them at less Expence. This all the World must allow to be just, and all intelligent People know it to be necessary. It is demonstrable that a Land Tax of one Shilling in the Pound, might raise near a Million; why then should the People be charged with two in order to raise that Sum? This is easing some and laying a double Load upon others, contrary to all the Rules of Justice and Equity; and for no other Reason, but because it has been long done. I might say the same with respect to the Window-Lights, the most disproportionate Tax that ever was invented; more burdensome, nay, and more ignominious too, than the Hearth Duty, in the Place of which it came; for we make Fires ourselves, but the Providence

dence of God furnishes us with Light and Air. If the People agree in these things, the Government also expressed the same Sense of the Matter, when the Excise Scheme was recommended. The Fact then is certain, but let us try whether we cannot render our Taxes equal, without having recourse to the Excise; and let us begin with these Methods of taxing, which as they stand, are known to be unreasonable and unequal.

By these Methods, whenever they shall be put in practice, our Affairs will be brought into such Order, that we shall certainly know what it is requisite for us to perform, in order to make ourselves easy; and it will likewise appear, how far it is in our Power to perform what shall be requisite. In such a Case we might hope to see the public Revenue settled in such a Manner, as that all public Service might be performed at far less Expence than at present, which would afford such Opportunities of Saving, as might supply farther Expences, if the Safety or Honour of this Nation should require them. We should not then complain of our Taxes, because we should be thoroughly informed both of the Necessity of raising them, and of the Measure by which they were raised. We should be no longer uneasy at the Expences of Government, from our Conviction that
nothing

nothing short of these Expences could answer the public Service. A foreign War would no longer fright us with the mighty Sums it must cost, because we should know with Certainty how those Sums might be raised, without fixing the Weight of the War on us or our Posterity many years after it ceased. From these Reflections it is most evident, that the settling our domestic Concerns ought to precede all Regard for foreign Affairs, at least if our Affection for our Country be as strong as in *Britons* it ought to be. We can never make a great Figure in *Europe*, we can never powerfully assist our Allies, we can never exert our naval Force to Advantage while the Nation is torn by Factions, or while she feels her Vitals prey'd upon by Corruption. The contrary Supposition is equally false and unnatural, imposed upon such as maintain it by the fatal Necessity of representing their Conduct as reasonable, while their very Manner of defending it shews, that it is contrary to their own Reason.

Thus I have in a narrow Compass fully refuted the principal Points insisted on in this tedious and prolix Vindication. To have followed the Author through all his perplexed Windings and Turnings, would have been a very tiresome, and as it falls out, a very unnecessary Undertaking; for if it can be shewn, that the direct contrary of all he

asserts is the Truth, it follows of course; that he is absolutely an Advocate for Falshood; and no reasonable Man can have any Doubts about it. With respect to his System of foreign Affairs, upon which he lays so great a Stress, they require much greater Compass to examine them than I prescribed to myself for this Treatise; but if the Public shall relish my Manner of reasoning in this Discourse, I dare answer for my giving them full Satisfaction in regard also to that Part of his Pamphlet, by shewing that the Conduct of the present Opposition is not at all inconsistent, that they are the farthest in the World from being Friends to *France*, or Enemies to the Queen of *Hungary*. That on the contrary, they desire nothing so much as to humble the former and assist the latter effectually; and that if ever this can be done, it must be by the Methods they desire to pursue, because all other Methods are dangerous in their Consequences as well as absurd in their Principles, as will very speedily appear in spite of all the Pains and all the Art that can be used to conceal it. The People may be indifferent Judges of political Schemes upon Paper, but when they are reduced into Practice, and they come not only to see, but to feel the Mischiefs that were foretold from the Pursuit of such Measures, they will then most readily confess,

fects, that they have been imposed upon, and perhaps be led to think, that the Contrary of such Measures must be right, which in its Turn may be attended with further ill Consequences. For when once People have set out wrong, their Heads are turned more and more as they continue their Journey, till at last they lose all Thought of finding the right Way, and give themselves up to a passionate Desire of being revenged on their Guides, which however just, is what no honest Man would wish to see come to pass.

Upon the whole I leave it as my last Thought, to the Consideration of the Reader, whether in perplexed Circumstances it is most safe to trust such Men as acknowledge, that they have heretofore concurred in order to serve their own Purposes, with such as they esteemed a Faction acting upon Principles dangerous and destructive to the Constitution; who avow their having endeavoured to raise a Storm which had well nigh shipwrecked the Commonwealth; and who, when they were convinced of this Danger, thought fit to raise it still higher, that they might have an Opportunity of escaping themselves: Men who are not ashamed to confess, that they encouraged what in their Hearts they disliked, promoted vehemently what they desired should never take effect, and placed greater Consequence
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In the Fire of their own anniversary Speeches
 against Corruption, than in the Force of
 those Laws for which they speeched. I say I
 leave it to the Determination of my Readers,
 whether it be fitter or more expedient to trust
 such Persons, than to concur with those who
 have maintained a constant Uniformity in
 their Declarations, and in their Manner of
 proceedings; who have for near thirty years
 together opposed all and every bad Measure
 that has been either attempted or pursued;
 who have promoted every Design calculated
 for the public Good; and who are now
 treated with the utmost Indignity and Re-
 proach for adhering to those Sentiments
 which have been sanctified in the most so-
 lemn Manner by the Voice of the Nation.

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